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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ικανὸς προστάτης) of his family.

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase.

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, δάντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with their cousins.

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the community. We have seen how the belief that a married man with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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612 τὸ σόϊ) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt
476 him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human
[431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of
[675] money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near
[409] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's
[662] journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of
[426] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter,
[851] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's application for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειὰ μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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S G 648 S G 648 G 829 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S 571 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. The most effective means of achieving these ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (κουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 608 585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (κουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. S 608 851 It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent.

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it.

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The

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851 796 608 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many ingredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 553 608 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded [551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 608 At the end of the service those who have attended return with the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 608 585 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kinsmen. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather, he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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608 generally not connected by kinship or marriage. It is therefore, despite the ritual sanction it contains, an inherently fragile bond which can only be sustained through the meticulous disciplining of attitudes and feelings on both sides. Two people formerly unrelated are drawn into a relationship of exacting ethical standards in which their mutual esteem and respect are profoundly committed.

[283] Just as the gift of God's grace which is implied in the rite of Baptism is a free gift, a gift without motive, and one which expects no reciprocity, so it is held that a godfather ought not to refuse any reasonable request of his godchild. In practice a godchild has little to do with his godfather, to whom, however, he must show a formal respect more punctilious than the respect he observes to his natural parents. While the ritual relation between the godfather and his godchild is more important than that between bridegroom and sponsor, the social relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent, persons of the same generation with common or complementary interests, is more important than that between the spiritual father and his godchild. Nevertheless, when a man seeks a favour from the godfather of his child, he asks for this help implicitly, or explicitly, in the name of the child; for it is understood that he has the right to make this request because of the ritual relation which exists between his child and its spiritual father. It follows that, in an important sense, the social relationship between the natural and the spiritual parent is dependent on the ritual link between godfather and godchild.

608 The wedding sponsor, in theory, has the right to baptize all
851 the children of the marriage. The Sarakatsanos, however, sel-
557 dom wastes these opportunities by allowing a single godfather to baptize all his sons. When the second son is born he tactfully asks the godfather of his first son if he would mind surrendering his right on this occasion because X has asked him if he might have that honour. He may add that as X is an important man he fears to give him offence. This, of course, is not true but the lie serves its purpose. In this way a man may establish almost as
608 many links of spiritual kinship as he has children. If the first
851 child is a girl, the sponsor baptizes her but normally he must also become the godfather of the first son when he is born. However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακοριζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

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Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

777 776 846 [171]

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting
and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered
with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was dis-
covered at last, and during a final mime of tri-
umphant bawdiness, the entire company danced
around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the
dancers alternately banging their noses and their
rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I
would give much to observe.

● 851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
tized. But they are always named at once, and
[775] should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism
on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop
up, death to all concerned is the only remedy.
This is not only for reasons of morality, for these
ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should
one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
(833) legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
(602) must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

(613) Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

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/322 cont./

fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended